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STEPHEN ROSE

»Haus Kirchen Cantorei«: Lutheran domestic devotional music in the age of confessionalisation

»That would be a blessed marriage where such spouses are together and are in charge of their children. Verily your house is a true church, a cloister of the elect, yes a paradise. Here the father and mother become like God, for they act as regent, bishop, pope, doctor, parson, preacher, schoolmaster, judge and lord. The father has all kinds of names and offices of God over his children.¹«

In these lines from a 1525 sermon on Exodus, Martin Luther extolled the family as the cornerstone of a morally upright and pious society. By regarding the household as a church, he invested parents with God-given authority to discipline and guide their children, servants and apprentices. His notion of the *Hauskirche* also fostered a rich tradition of devotional life in German Protestant territories. The head of the household (*Hausvater*) was exhorted to hold regular worship with his family and servants; such domestic devotion included Biblical readings, prayers, and the singing of psalms and hymns. Ordinances held parents responsible for the religious education of their children, particularly by ensuring that the catechism was learned at home. Music was an important part of the *Hauskirche*, with an extensive repertory of sacred songs intended to instruct and edify families.

Household devotion had existed in earlier eras, as shown by the many extant Books of Hours that aided lay spirituality in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. In Lutheran lands of the late sixteenth century, however, household devotion took on a new significance, as an officially prescribed tool of confessionalisation and social disciplining. Confessionalisation, as defined by Heinz Schilling, was a »fundamental social transformation that encompasses ecclesiastical-religious and psychological-cultural changes as well as political and social ones«. ² Confessionalisation involved

1 »Wie eine selige ehe were das, wo solchs ehevolck beysamen were und stunde also yhren kindlin für, Fürwar yhr haus were eine rechte kirche, ein auserwelet Klöster, ja ein Paradiss, Denn Vatter und Mutter werden Gott hie gleich, denn sie sind Regenten, Bisschoff, Bapst, Doctor, Pfarrer, Prediger, Schulmeister, Richter und Herr, der Vatter hat alle namen und ampt Gottes uber seine kinder.« WA 16, S. 490, Z. 28–33.

2 »gesellschaftsgeschichtlich fundamentalen Wandlungsvorgang, der kirchlich-religiöse und mentalitätsmäßig-kulturelle Veränderungen ebenso einschließt wie staatlich-politische und soziale«. Heinz SCHILLING, Die Konfessionalisierung von Kirche, Staat und Gesellschaft—Profil, Leistung, Defizite und Perspektiven eines geschichtswissenschaftlichen Paradigmas; in: Wolfgang REINHARD/Heinz SCHILLING (Hgg.), Die katholische Konfessionalisierung. Akten eines von

not merely the rise of denominational churches as institutions, but also the embedding of these denominations within education, ritual, spirituality and everyday life.³ Encouraged by official edicts and printed handbooks, the *Hauskirche* was one of the main ways in which the Lutheran faith became rooted in the daily life of believers. Domestic worship also assisted the creation of a modern, obedient society of subjects – the process of social disciplining that Schilling identifies as running in parallel with confessionalisation.⁴ Regular household worship was believed to nurture an orderly and devout society, with parents inculcating piety and virtue in their children.

This chapter examines Lutheran domestic sacred music between the 1560s and 1580s – the period when confessionalisation and social disciplining was at its height. My geographical focus is on Saxony and neighbouring territories such as Lusatia. In these decades a distinct repertory of domestic sacred songs arose, separate from the chorales which were used in both church and home. Many of these songs had texts or tunes that made them in some way unsuitable for church use. Domestic devotional music in this formative period has been little explored, compared to the wealth of research (notably by Patrice Veit) on how personal piety was fostered by sacred song in the seventeenth century.⁵ The first section of this chapter outlines how the household was a site of tensions between officially encouraged processes of confessionalisation on the one hand, and expressions of individuality on the other hand. It then examines how these tensions are manifested in two sacred songbooks intended for domestic use: Nikolaus Herman's »Die Historien von der Sindflut« (Wittenberg, 1562) and Paschasius Reinigke's »Haus Kirchen Cantorei« (Bautzen, 1587).

At the outset it is necessary to acknowledge the problems caused by a lack of sources. Whereas the practices of domestic devotional music in the seventeenth century are described in a multitude of sources – including ego-documents such as letters and diaries, as well as the funeral sermons used by Veit – there is far less material recording sixteenth-century habits.⁶ Even the visitations that reported on the state of public worship did not probe extensively into domestic piety, although they usually

Corpus Catholicorum und Verein für Reformationsgeschichte veranstalteten Symposions (Augsburg 1993), Gütersloh 1995, S. 1–49 (here S. 4).

3 SCHILLING, Die Konfessionalisierung von Kirche, S. 4.

4 SCHILLING, Die Konfessionalisierung von Kirche, S. 4.

5 Patrice VEIT, Private Frömmigkeit, Lektüre und Gesang im protestantischen Deutschland der frühen Neuzeit: Das Modell der Leichenpredigten; in: Rudolf VIERHAUS (Hg.), Frühe Neuzeit – Frühe Moderne: Forschungen zu Vielschichtigkeit von Übergangsprozessen (Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte, Bd. 104), Göttingen 1992, S. 271–295; Patrice VEIT, »...daheime seine Zeit mit singen, mit beten und lesen zugebracht.« Über den Umgang mit Kirchenliedern im aussergottesdienstlichen Kontext; in: Renate STEIGER (Hg.), Die Quellen Johann Sebastian Bachs – Bachs Musik im Gottesdienst, Heidelberg 1998, S. 329–335; Patrice VEIT, Die Hausandacht im deutschen Luthertum: Anweisungen und Praktiken; in: Ferdinand van INGEN/Cornelia Niekus MOORE (Hgg.), Gebetsliteratur der Frühen Neuzeit als Hausfrömmigkeit. Funktion und Formen in Deutschland und in den Niederlanden, Wiesbaden, 2001, S. 193–206.

6 One well-known exception is the diary of Felix Platter (1536–1614), which records how during his childhood in Basel, he listened to his father Thomas reading the Bible and preaching sermons to the assembled household. Felix PLATTER, Tagebuch, 1536–1567, hg. Valentin LÖTSCHER, Basel 1979, S. 79.

enquire (as in the 1555 and 1574 Saxon visitations) whether parents are sending their children to catechism classes.⁷ Accordingly, the main sources used for this chapter are the sacred songbooks and devotional manuals that were printed in increasing quantities during the sixteenth century. Although testimony to a vibrant lay market for printed devotional material, these books do not necessarily reflect social practices, but instead may have been imposing ideals on the population. Furthermore, they were primarily used by the small proportion of the population that was literate and could afford such books; this readership included the nobility, patricians, burghers, and church or state servants. Nonetheless, the printed sources still reveal the clash between official prescriptions and individual habits in the music of the *Hauskirche*.

DISCIPLINE VERSUS FREEDOM IN THE *HAUSKIRCHE*

Many historians have interpreted Lutheran ideologies of the household in the late sixteenth century as forms of social disciplining. Joel Harrington has shown how a patriarchal ideal permeated writings of the period, with the house-father (*Hausvater*) regarded as analogous to the *Landesvater* (head of government) or *Gottesvater* (God the father).⁸ Lyndal Roper argues that Lutheranism borrowed its emphasis on male authority from the craft-guilds that dominated cities such as Augsburg and Nuremberg.⁹ Gerald Strauss has demonstrated how parents were exhorted to play a major role in their children's religious and civic education (or »indoctrination«, to use Strauss's somewhat loaded term).¹⁰ The *Hauskirche* too can be regarded as an instrument of social discipline, imbuing a family with religious orthodoxy and moral precepts. As a vehicle for sacred texts, music was central to these efforts to discipline via domestic worship.

Many of the educational functions of the *Hauskirche* and its music stemmed from the practice of teaching children the catechism. Luther initially declared parents were responsible for instructing their family in the rudiments of faith: each section of his Short Catechism (1529) begins with the words »in the simple form that a house-father should teach to his children«.¹¹ In later decades the responsibility for catechising was shared between parents, school and church.¹² Music was an important way to impress religious doctrines upon the young and illiterate. Luther recognised the mnemonic power of music by writing hymns on the elements of the catechism, including »Vater unser im Himmelreich« (the Lord's Prayer), »Wir glauben all an einen Gott« (the

7 Karl PALLAS, *Die Registraturen der Kirchenvisitationen im ehemals sächsischen Kurkreise*, Halle 1906, Allgemeiner Teil, S. 52, 92.

8 Joel F. HARRINGTON, *Hausvater and Landesvater: Paternalism and Marriage Reform in Sixteenth-Century Germany*; in: *Central European History* 25, 1992, S. 52–75.

9 Lyndal ROPER, *The Holy Household. Women and Morals in Reformation Augsburg*, Oxford 1989, S. 54.

10 Gerald STRAUSS, *Luther's House of Learning. Indoctrination of the Young in the German Reformation*, Baltimore 1978, S. 108–131.

11 »wie sye ain Haußvatter seinem gesind eynfeltigklich fyrhalten soll«. WA 30/i, S. 243.

12 STRAUSS, *Luther's House of Learning*, S. 130.

Creed), »Dies sind die heiligen zehn Gebot« (The Ten Commandments) and »Aus tiefer Not schrei ich zu dir« (Confession).¹³ He recommended regular use of these hymns in the home, advising in his Short Catechism that »Dies sind die heiligen zehn Gebot« be sung by believers after their daily morning prayers.¹⁴ In 1602 the Leipzig theologian Cornelius Becker remarked that: »It is certain and true that from these hymns, many thousands have correctly learned the catechism [...] Otherwise many people would have been ignorant of this, since they can neither write nor read.«¹⁵ Knowledge of the catechism hymns was regarded as a sign of piety: Cyriacus Spangenberg (1528–1604) advised householders hiring servants to check not just that they could cook and sweep, but also that they knew the main articles of Lutheran doctrine and could sing hymns such as »Vater unser im Himmelreich«, »Aus tiefer Not« and »Erhalt uns Herr«.¹⁶

Religious instruction within the *Hauskirche* was intended to complement that offered at church and school. Frequently the domestic worship prepared family members for church the following Sunday, teaching them the chorales so they would sing well in church, and familiarising them with the set Biblical readings so they were more likely to understand the sermon. Andreas Pancratius's »Haußbuch« (Nuremberg, 1572) contains summaries of the Epistle and Gospel for each Sunday and feast-day in the church year, with an accompanying prayer. Pancratius instructed that the youngest members of the family should memorise the prayer, while older children could also memorise mottos from the Biblical readings; such preparation would make the whole family more receptive to the sermon. A similar function was served musically by Nikolaus Herman's »Die Sontags Evangelia« (Wittenberg, 1560), which comprises sacred songs based on the Gospel readings for each Sunday in the year. The preface to the book (by the Wittenberg theologian, Paul Eber) recommends that each week household members should learn the relevant song for the forthcoming Sunday: »This exercise will ensure that the youth and the uneducated servants understand better the words of the Gospel, and they will be able to recall the main lessons from the sermon.«¹⁷ Music's mnemonic qualities made it a uniquely powerful tool for impressing Biblical messages on the household. As Eber noted: »Many simple or un-

13 On these catechism hymns, see Robin A. LEAVER, *Luther's Liturgical Music: Principles and Implications*, Grand Rapids MI 2007, S. 107–169.

14 WA 30/i, S. 261–262.

15 »Dann gewiß vnd wahr/daß aus diesen geistlichen Liedern viel tausend Menschen den Catechismus [...] richtig gelernet. Welches sonst bey vielen/wegen daß sie weder schreiben noch lesen können/gemangelt hette.« Cornelius BECKER, *Der Psalter Davids Gesangweis*, Leipzig 1602, cited from Leipzig 1619 edition, sig. A3v.

16 Cyriacus SPANGENBERG, *Ehespiegel*, Strassburg 1570, fol. 93v.

17 »Diese vbung wird dazu dienen/das die Jungen leut vnd das einfeltige Gesind den Text der Evangelien desto besser verstehen vnd sich der fürnemesten Lere aus den gehörten Predigten fein wider erinnern können werden.« Cited from the digitised copy in Halle, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt, shelfmark AB 153229(3): Nikolaus HERMAN, *Die Sontags Evangelia*, Leipzig n.d. [1560?], sig. B1r.

learned people in need and temptation will more often console themselves by recalling such a song, rather than a long and well constructed sermon.«¹⁸

Besides its educational function, worship in the *Hauskirche* was a way to regulate and sanctify everyday life. The Reformation had swept away most of the monasteries in which the Canonical Hours were practised; but a similar regularity of worship was encouraged in the household. Luther's Small Catechism recommends that family members say prayers on waking and at bedtime, as well as a blessing and a prayer of thanksgiving at meals.¹⁹ Morning, evening and mealtimes remained the main times for Lutheran domestic worship, and pictures of families at prayer at these occasions are commonly found in devotional books (Abb. 1 & 2). By the end of the sixteenth century a more intensive devotional routine was sometimes advocated, not least to banish idle thoughts from householders. Martin Praetorius's »Geistliche Uhr« (Dresden, 1595) invited readers to use each hour of the day as a starting-point for a meditation on that number as found in the Bible. Thus four o'clock could prompt a contemplation on the Four Evangelists, whereas five o'clock could lead a believer to meditate on the five wounds of the crucified Christ.²⁰

The main function of music in the *Hauskirche* was as a carrier of sacred words; but music was also considered to be intrinsically holy, with its harmonic ratios mirroring the mathematical order of heaven. Luther wrote that music reveals »the great inexpressible, incomprehensible and inexplicable wisdom of God, when a single voice proceeds in its fine and simple manner, and the other voices play so marvellously in every way, beside it and around it, together in friendly consort«.²¹ Hence when a household sang psalms and hymns, the family members benefitted from music's God-given ability to foster concord. Indeed, musical harmony was widely used as a metaphor for an orderly household. As Spangenberg remarked in his »Ehespiegel«: »In a song or instrumental music, if you let two voices sound together as one, then the song will be stronger. Therefore all business and things in a well-ordered household will be smoothly accomplished if the husband and wife concur in their opinions.«²²

The *Hauskirche* was encouraged from above, by church ordinances and other edicts. For instance, the 1580 Saxon church ordinance states that parents should send their children and servants (*Gesinde*) to catechism-classes and also the annual catechism examination by the pastor. Householders should regularly recite the catechism

18 »manches einfeltigs/vngelertes Mensch in nöten vnnd anfechtungen oft mehr aus einem solchem Gesang sich erinnert vnd tröstet/denn aus einer langen vnd wolgesetzten Predigt.« HERMAN, Die Sontags Evangelia, sig. A7v.

19 WA 30/i, S. 261–262.

20 Martin PRAETORIUS, Geistliche Uhr und Wecker alle Zeit. Das ist: Schöne Erinnerung und Gebet, Dresden 1595, sig. C4r.

21 »die grosse unaussprechliche/unbegreifliche und unerforschliche weisheit Gottes/das die eine stimme jhrer art nach fein gerate und einfeltig her gehet/und die andern so wunderbarlichen auff allen örtern/daneben und umbher spielen/freundlich einander/begenen«. Martin LUTHER, Encomion musices (c.1538) as edited in LEAVER, Luther's Liturgical Music, S. 318, 323.

22 »wann man im gesang oder Instrumenten der Music/zwo stimmen zu gleich lautende/mit eynander gehen lasset/so würt der gesang desto stercker. Also werden alle händel vnnd sachen/in eynem zimlichen wolbestelleten Haußregiment/stattlich vollzogen/wann Mann vnd Weib im rathschlagen vbereyn stimmen.« SPANGENBERG, Ehespiegel, fol. 56r.



Abbildung 1:
Family wor-
ship at meal-
time, from
Joseph Clau-
der, *Psalmo-
dia nova* (se-
cond edition,
Leipzig,
1630), S. 70.
(Leipziger
Städtische Bi-
bliotheken –
Musikbiblio-
thek)

with their children and servants, particularly after meals and at bedtime. If nobody in the household could read, the parents »should give a poor schoolboy something, so that he recites or reads the catechism to their children at set times, and teaches them sacred songs«. ²³ Ordinances rarely specified more detail about household devotion, although a Hesse edict of 1566 recommends that the *Hausvater* should buy hymn-books (including a Lutheran psalter) and should practise the hymns daily with his household, so they sing them skilfully in church and avoid the »bawdy unchristian songs that are common among young folk«. ²⁴ It is unclear how far such ordinances were upheld; as already mentioned, church visitations of the period rarely comment in detail on household devotions.

The *Hauskirche* was not simply prescribed by official ordinance; there was also a groundswell of printed prayer-books, songbooks and postils providing material for domestic devotion. Some books sought to supply everything a parent might need for domestic worship: for instance, Andreas Fabricius's »Die Hauskirche. Das ist: wie ein

23 »sollen sie einem armen knaben in der schulen etwas geben, der ihrem gesinde zu gewissen stunden den catechismum vorspreche oder lese, und geistliche gesenge lehre.« Emil SEHLING, *Die evangelischen Kirchenordnungen des XVI. Jahrhunderts, Erste Abtheilung: Sachsen und Thüringen, erste Hälfte*, Leipzig 1902, S. 423–425.

24 »Derhalben sollen die hausvätter neben dem catechismo das psalmenbuch Lutheri und andere bewerte gesangbücher keufen, ihr gesinde darin sich teglich uben lassen, damit sie desto geschickter zum geseng der kirchen sein möchten und also andere leichtfertige, unchristliche geseng und lieder, so dem jungen volk gar gemein, hinwegteten.« Emil SEHLING, *Die evangelischen Kirchenordnungen des XVI. Jahrhunderts, Bd. 8 Hessen. Erste Hälfte: Die gemeinsamen Ordnungen*, Tübingen 1965, S. 235.

Abbildung 2:
Solitary
prayer in the
bedchamber,
from Joseph
Clauder,
*Psalmodia
nova* (second
edition,
Leipzig,
1630), S. 184.
(Leipziger
Städtische
Bibliothe-
ken – Musik-
bibliothek)



Hausvater neben dem öffentlichen Predigamt/auch daheime sein Heufflein zu Gottes Wort/vnd dem lieben Catechismo reitzen soll« (Eisleben, 1569) contains Biblical extracts (*Sprüche*), a lectionary of Biblical readings suitable for children, plus songs about the catechism. Devotional manuals were usually written by pastors, cantors or state officials – individuals who might be expected to implement a state or church policy of social disciplining. Many of these devotional books were frequently reprinted, indicating the strong lay market for them. Within towns they circulated reasonably widely: the research of Michael Hackenberg has shown how many artisans in towns such as Brunswick owned copies of devotional texts such as Luther's »Hauspostille«.²⁵

In rural regions with lower levels of literacy, however, these devotional books had less appeal. Most peasant families had neither the money to buy such books, nor the skill to read them, nor the spare time to engage in lengthy spiritual exercises.²⁶ That a large section of the German population was unconcerned about domestic piety is implied by the agonised remarks found in songbooks, devotional literature and conduct books. Paul Eber lamented that in houses, workshops and on the street, there

25 Michael HACKENBERG, Books in Artisan Homes of Sixteenth-Century Germany; in: The Journal of Library History 21, 1986, S. 72–91.

26 For the argument that such household devotions were found only in noble and patrician families, see Hans-Christoph RUBLACK, New Patterns of Christian Life; in: Thomas A. BRADY/Heiko A. OBERMAN/James D. TRACY (Hgg.), Handbook of European History 1400–1600: Late Middle Ages, Renaissance and Reformation, Leiden 1995, Bd. 2, S. 585–607 (here S. 595).

were more love-songs (*Bulenlieder*) than sacred songs to be heard.²⁷ Nikolaus Herman's dedication in his »Historien der Sindflut« contrasts the honourable, Bible-reading *Hausvater* with »the others who have not learned to do anything other than lie around drinking beer and wine, gambling and making a racket, etc.«²⁸ Such complaints about unruly popular culture multiplied as attempts at social disciplining intensified in the late sixteenth century. As Lyndal Roper observes, »the literature of moral reform is mesmerised by the ills it purports to exorcise«.²⁹

Furthermore, the Lutheran attempts to regulate the household ran in counterpoint with an increasing individualism in domestic life of the sixteenth century. Throughout this period, a rising sense of »private life« can be detected in several aspects of the lives of the affluent.³⁰ Domestic architecture increasingly included private spaces such as bedchambers, in which individuals could enjoy solitary rather than communal living (see Abb. 2). Family members owned more personal possessions such as prayer-books, often in pocket-sized formats and in lavish bindings emblazoned with their initials; such books allowed solitary silent reading instead of the communal reading aloud that formerly had been the norm. Additionally, the growing number of ego-documents such as private diaries, letters and autobiographies indicate that some individuals were determined to set themselves apart from the rest of society. All these developments encouraged domestic devotion. With the emergence of private spaces within the home such as the bedchamber, the more affluent members of society were able to obey the Biblical injunction (Matthew 6.6) often quoted in devotional manuals of the period: »But when you pray, go into your room and shut the door and pray to your Father who is in secret.«³¹

By the start of the seventeenth century there are the first signs of a subjective piety practised by individuals, as opposed to the disciplined household worship favoured by ordinances. The funeral sermon for the Pommeranian noblewoman Ursula von Eickstedt (née Blankenburg, 1563–1602) describes her devotions not just in public worship but also in private:

»How diligently she read scriptures and daily with great seriousness and zealously fervent devotion, yes also with moist eyes and many flowing tears, she prayed not just in church, before and after the sermon, but also in her little bedchamber (which she had had specially built for this purpose) with great whining and a full, clear voice, so

27 Preface to HERMAN, *Sontags Evangelia*, sig. A7r.

28 »die andern/so sonst nichts gelernet haben/zum Bier vnd Wein liegen/spielen vnd rasseln etc.« Quoted from the British Library copy (shelfmark Hirsch.iii.818; RISM DKL 1563/07) of Nikolaus HERMAN, *Die Historien von der Sindflut*, Wittenberg 1563, sig. B3v.

29 Lyndal ROPER, *Oedipus and the Devil. Witchcraft, Sexuality and Religion in Early Modern Europe*, London 1994, S. 154.

30 For an overview of these developments, see Roger CHARTIER (Hg.), *A History of Private Life: Volume III, Passions of the Renaissance*, translated by Arthur Goldhammer, Cambridge MA 1989.

31 »Wenn aber du betest/so gehe in dein Kämmerlein/und schließ die Thur zu/vnd bete zu deinem Vatter im Verborgenen«. Luther's 1545 translation, quoted in Matthäus VOGEL, *Schatzkammer heiliger Göttlicher Schriftt, Der erste Theil*, Tübingen 1594, S. 762.

that one could hear within the house and outside how sorrowfully and ardently she laid her knees on the ground and called to God in prayer. I can testify to this not just with my own knowledge, but all the servants of her court and those she knew, whether friend or foe, can give good testimonies to this.³²«

This report – printed in a hundred-page pamphlet that was probably funded by the Eickstedt family – suggests that Ursula's devotion was partly an ostentatious act of self-fashioning. Even when she prayed in her bedchamber, the noise of her devotions impressed other members of her household and her neighbours. Yet it would be unduly cynical to dismiss Ursula's piety as exhibitionism. She had internalised her favourite sacred texts, memorising Johann Habermann's »Betbüchlein« (discussed below) so that she could not forget it in her most serious illness.³³ With her emotionally demonstrative devotions, Ursula showed she was not passive putty to be moulded by social discipline, but an active subject forming her own spiritual life. When contained in the private space of the home, women could defy the usual expectation that they should be dutiful and submissive members of society. Indeed, during the seventeenth century the practice of domestic devotion increasingly allowed women to express their creativity as authors or composers of sacred songs.³⁴

The following case-studies examine two influential books of Lutheran domestic devotional song: Nikolaus Herman's »Historien von der Sindflut« (Wittenberg, 1562) and Paschasius Reinigke's »Haus Kirchen Cantorei« (Bautzen, 1587). Both books helped establish a distinct domestic repertory of sacred songs, separate from the chorales that were the mainstay of Lutheran church worship and also sung at home. Herman and Reinigke wrote devotional texts and provided them with monophonic (single-line) melodies, a musical texture strongly associated with domestic use.³⁵ Both authors harnessed the power of popular song: Herman borrowed dance melodies and Reinigke used the tunes of Calvinist psalms. By using melodies in the *Hauskirche* that would be banned from Lutheran church worship, Herman and Reinigke exploited the

32 »Wie vleisig sie [...] die heilige Schrifft gelesen/vnd täglich mit grosem ernst/vnd eiferiger inbrünstiger andacht/ja auch mit fliesenden Augen/vnd vergiesung vieler thränen nicht allein alhier in der Kirchen/Vor vnd Nach der Predigt/Sondern auch daheim in ihrem Bett Kemmerlein/das sie sonderlich darzu hat abmachen lassen/mit grosen winselen/vnd voller heller stimme/das mans auch im Hause/vnd draussen hat hören können/wie engstiglich vnd andechtiglich sie auff ihre Knie auff der Erden gelegen vnd zu Gott geruffen/gebetet habe/weil ich mit guten gewissen/vnd grundt der bestendigen warheit nicht allein zeugen/sondern all ihr Hoffgesinde vnd iederman der sie gekant/er sey freundt oder feindt/müssen ihr dessen gahr gut Zeugnis geben.« Jonas GIGAS, Eine Christliche Klag und Leichpredigt/bey den gar traurigen Sepulturen und Leichbestattungen der [...] Ursulae/geborne von Blanckenburgk, s.l. 1602, sig. G4v. Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel, shelfmark Xa 1:3 (17).

33 GIGAS, Eine Christliche Klag und Leichpredigt, sig. H1r.

34 See the discussion of female authors of sacred song in Linda Maria KOLDAU, *Frauen – Musik – Kultur. Ein Handbuch zum deutschen Sprachgebiet der Frühen Neuzeit*, Köln 2005, S. 385–433.

35 Polyphonic settings were normally reserved for school choirs and church music; Paschasius Reinigke included two polyphonic settings in the second edition of his *Haus Kirchen Cantorei*, discussed below.

tensions between social discipline and individual freedom in the domestic sacred repertory.

NIKOLAUS HERMAN AND THE *ABENDREIHEN*

Nikolaus Herman (c.1500–1560), cantor in the Bohemian mining-town of Joachimsthal, wrote two of the most frequently reprinted sixteenth-century collections of devotional songs. I have already mentioned »Die Sontags Evangelia« (Wittenberg, 1560), containing hymns based on the Gospel readings for each Sunday of the year. He was also the author of »Die Historien von der Sindflut« (Wittenberg, 1562), a book of sung versions of Old Testament stories.³⁶ Herman wrote some of his songs during the previous thirty years, for use by pupils at the girls' school in Joachimsthal.³⁷ The title-pages of both books, however, state that the songs are intended for Christian householders and their children (»Christliche Hausveter vnd jre Kinder«).³⁸ By using these songs, the head of the household could educate family members in scripture, complementing the lessons delivered in church sermons. It should be noted that the term »children« denoted not just juveniles but anyone under the authority of the head of household.³⁹

Herman was keen to exploit the power of music for pedagogic ends, noting that young people are naturally inclined to sing, and that whatever is put in song is more easily learned and remembered than texts that are simply read or heard.⁴⁰ Accordingly Herman set his song-texts to melodies from a wide variety of sources, including Gregorian chant and also secular tunes outside the scope of normal church worship (such as miners' songs [*Bergreihen*] and dances). Here my focus is on his use of dance tunes, an aspect of popular culture at odds with the trend for social disciplining via domestic devotion.

By the 1560s, religious and state authorities increasingly attacked dances, particularly those held at the spinning-bees (*Spinnstuben*) in rural villages. Spinning-bees were evening gatherings of unmarried men and women, ostensibly for spinning and knitting, but also for socialising and dancing. Outside the control of home or church, such dances were frequently suspected of fuelling youthful misbehaviour such as drunkenness, courtship and fornication.⁴¹ The Lutheran pastor Melchior Ambach

36 For lists of the editions and contents of both books, see Christopher Boyd BROWN, *Singing the Gospel: Lutheran Hymns and the Success of the Reformation*, Cambridge MA 2005, S. 175–195.

37 HERMAN, *Die Sontags Evangelia*, sig. B6v.

38 HERMAN, *Die Historien der Sindflut*, title-page.

39 John M. FRYMIRE, *The Primacy of the Postils: Catholics, Protestants and the Dissemination of Ideas in Early Modern Germany*, Leiden 2010, S. 96.

40 »das junge Volck von natur zum singen geneigt ist«; »das alles/was in gesang verfasst wird/leichtlicher zu lernen/vnd besser zubehalten ist/denn was man sonst lieset vnd höret«. HERMAN, *Die Sontags Evangelia*, sig. B7r, B5r.

41 Hans MEDICK, *Village Spinning Bees. Sexual Culture and Free Time among Rural Youth in Early Modern Germany*; in: Hans MEDICK/David Warren SABEAN (Hgg.), *Interest and Emotion: Essays on the Study of the Family and Kinship*, Cambridge 1984, S. 317–339.

(1490–c.1559) railed against dancing in his book »Vom Tantzen« (1545), extracts of which appeared in later volumes such as Spangenberg's »Ehespiegel« (1570):

»People practise lecherous, whorish gestures to the music of sweet strings and unchaste songs; they touch married women and virgins with unchaste hands, and kiss each other with whorish embraces; and the bodily limbs, which nature has hidden and modesty has covered, are often uncovered by lust; and under the cloak of diversion and entertainment, shame and vice are hidden [...] Yes, dancing is a practice which comes not from heaven, but from the harmful devil, invented to disgrace God.«⁴²

Florian Daul complained in his »Tantzteuffel« (1567) that young people rushed to dances at all times of day and night irrespective of the weather, but showed no such enthusiasm when summoned to worship by the church bells.⁴³ Similar disgust at dancing was expressed by the parish visitations in rural Saxony between the 1570s and 1600s. Visitors noted the immodest behaviour at spinning-bees, reporting in the parish of Dubro that the boys' behaviour at these gatherings was so lascivious that »it could not be described«. In other parishes the dancing allowed boys and girls to expose their bare limbs, and the visitors exhorted the local judges to forbid and fine such dances.⁴⁴

The dance-form most suspected of immorality was the *Abendreiben* (ring-dance). This involved boys and girls dancing in a circle, while a song passed from one dancer to another, often accompanied by a crown for the singer.⁴⁵ State edicts attacked the *Abendreiben* for promoting lascivious behaviour and allowing boys and girls to get to know each other too closely. It was banned in many areas of south-western Germany including Amberg (1554), Freiburg im Breisgau (1556, 1568) and Nuremberg (1614).⁴⁶ Despite the *Abendreiben* being closely associated with depraved behaviour, Herman designated three of his sacred songs as examples of this dance.⁴⁷ Two of these

42 »Leichtfertige/Hurische geberden vbet man nach süßem seitenspiel/vnd vnkeuschen Liedern/da begreiff man frawen vnnd Junckfrawen mit vnkeuschen henden/man küßt einander mit Hürischem vmbfahen/vnnd die glider/welche die natur verborgen vnd scham bedeckt hat/entblößt offtmals geilheit vnd vnder dem Mantel einer kurtzweil vnd spieles/wirdt schand vnnd Laster bedeckt [...] Ja Tantzen ist eigentlich ein vbung/nit vom Himmel kommen/sondern von dem leidigen teuffel/Gott zur Schmach erfunden.« Melchior AMBACH, *Vom Tantzen*, Frankfurt am Main 1545, sig. C1r–C1v.

43 Florian DAUL, *Tantzteuffel*, Frankfurt am Main 1567, fol. 26v–27v.

44 PALLAS, *Die Registraturen der Kirchenvisitationen im ehemals sächsischen Kurkreise*, Bd. 3, S. 542, 580, Bd. 5, S. 212, 477. On the clash between the visitations and popular culture, see Susan KARANT-NUNN, *Neoclericalism and Anticlericalism in Saxony, 1555–1675*; in: *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 24, 1994, S. 615–637.

45 Franz M. BÖHME, *Geschichte des Tanzes in Deutschland: Beitrag zur deutschen Sitten-, Literatur- und Musikgeschichte*, Leipzig 1886, Bd. 1, S. 52–53.

46 BÖHME, *Geschichte des Tanzes*, Bd. 1, S. 114–115.

47 *Ir Schwesterlein*, *Ir Schwesterlein* (HERMAN, *Historien von der Sindflut*, nr. 63, sig. P8v–Q2r), *Wil niemand singen so wil singen ich* (HERMAN, *Historien von der Sindflut*, nr. 64, sig. Q2r–Q2v), *Kompt her ir liebsten Schwesterlein* (HERMAN, *Die Sontags Evangelia*, nr. 88, sig. Y3r–Y8r).

Wil nie - mand sing - en/ so wil sing - en ich/
 Der Kön - ig al - ler Eh - ren freit umb mich/
 Der Kön - ig al - ler Eh - ren freit umb mich.

Notenbei-
spiel 1:

Nikolaus
Herman,
*Wil nie-
mand sin-
gen*, ope-
ning verse.

songs, »Ir Schwesterlein, Ir Schwesterlein« and »Kompt her ir liebsten Schwesterlein«, use the simple melodic contour and the call-and-response form of this dance-song. His other example, »Wil niemand singen«, is particularly interesting because it is a contrafactum of a secular version that circulated in popular culture.

The secular original of »Wil niemand singen« would have been primarily transmitted orally in the sixteenth century, but it is also preserved in a polyphonic Tenorlied by Ludwig Senfl (c.1490–c.1543).⁴⁸ The tune is memorable (Notenbeispiel 1): it opens with a catchy dactylic rhythm (long-short-short), and the second line is repeated (allowing a call-and-response performance). In the secular original, the song passes from one girl to another as they describe their suitors (Tafel 1). Herman's sacred adaptation transforms this courtship dance into »Ein Gespräch zweier Christlichen Jungfrewlein« (»A dialogue between two Christian maidens«), for performance in the desexualised environment of the home or perhaps the Joachimsthal girls' school. His reworked text is still about courtship, with the protagonist singing how she has received a betrothal ring. But this ring is from Christ and is a metaphor for the act of baptism. Instead of the song passing from one singer to another in the circle, Herman uses a question-and-answer format similar to a catechism.

Tafel 1: Openings of secular and sacred versions of »Wil niemand singen«

Secular original (SENFL, <i>Deutsche Lieder</i> , S. 89–90, 142–143)		Nikolaus Herman's contrafactum (HERMAN, <i>Historien von der Sindflut</i> , sig. Q2r)	
Wil niemand singen, so sing' aber ich.	If nobody's singing, then I'll sing	Wil niemand singen/so wil singen ich/	If nobody's singing, then I'll sing
Es wirbt ein junger Knab' um mich.	There is a young lad wooing me.	Der König aller Ehren freit umb mich/	The king of all honour is courting me

48 Original printed edition: Peter SCHOEFFER (Hg.), *Fünff und sechzig deutscher Lieder*, Strassburg 1536, nr. 57. Modern edition in Ludwig SENFL, *Deutsche Lieder zu vier bis sechs Stimmen*. I. Teil: Lieder aus handschriftlichen Quellen, hg. von Arnold GOERING (Erbe deutscher Musik, Bd. 10), Wolfenbüttel 1938, S. 89–90.

Secular original (SENFL, Deutsche Lieder, S. 89–90, 142–143)		Nikolaus Herman's contrafactum (HERMAN, Historien von der Sindflut, sig. Q2r)	
Ich sing' ein Lied, das will ich aufgeben.	I'm singing a song I want to give up	Denn in der Tauff hat er mich im vertraut/	For in baptism he has promised me
Ach, Herre Gott, wer soll sein pflegen?	Oh Lord God, who will take care of it?	Vff das ich sey sein allerliebste Braut.	That I will be his beloved bride
Wer soll ein' bessere Pflegerin sein?	Who will care for it better?	[Frag:] Was hat er denn zum Malschatz geben dir?	Q: What bridal pledge did he give you?
Das Annelein, das soll die Pflegerin sein.	Let Annie care for it.	[Antwort:] Ein güldens Fingerlein mit eim Saphir.	A: A sapphire in a golden ring
Wer soll des Annelein Helfer sein?	Who will help Annie?	[Frag:] Was bedeutet im Fingerlein der Saphir?	Q: What is that sapphire meant to be?
Der Hans, der soll der Helfer sein.	Let Jack help her.	[Antwort:] Es ist der heilige Geist/den schenckt er mir.	A: It is the Holy Spirit he gave to me.

Christopher Boyd Brown notes the theological significance of Herman's text. Before the Reformation the spiritual betrothal of young girls signalled that they were embarking on a monastic life, renouncing carnal marriage for a sacred union with Christ. Such a monastic betrothal is depicted in Lucas Cranach's 1516 altarpiece in Joachimsthal, which shows the infant Christ placing an engagement ring on the finger of St Catharine. Yet with the Lutheran Reformation, most monasteries were dissolved, and baptism was now seen as the preferable form of union between Christ and His believers. Herman's song thus helped the citizens of Joachimsthal to reinterpret their altarpiece in accordance with new Lutheran doctrines.⁴⁹ In its published form, the song promoted the Lutheran doctrine of baptism to households across central Germany.

Brown does not mention that »Wil niemand singen« is a contrafactum, nor does he consider the tensions arising from Herman's adaptation of the *Abendreihen*. Within Joachimsthal, the clergy and school teachers seem to have accepted the co-existence of popular and sacred cultures, allowing secular songs to be adapted for the purposes of domestic devotion.⁵⁰ In other territories where the published song was disseminated, the situation may have been more complicated. Arguably Herman's reworking neutralised the ring-dance, removing it from subversive youth culture to the orderly atmosphere of the *Hauskirche*. At the same time, his reworking of the *Abendreihen* reinforced the existence of the forbidden secular version: children who learned his dance-song would also learn the format of the sexualised original. Social disciplining via devotional song could not completely eradicate the disorderly world of popular culture.

49 BROWN, *Singing the Gospel*, S. 86–88.

50 BROWN, *Singing the Gospel*, S. 50–51, 79–80.

FORBIDDEN TUNES IN PASCHASIUS REINIGKE'S »HAUS KIRCHEN CANTOREI«

My second case-study concerns Paschasius Reinigke's »Haus Kirchen Cantorei« (Bautzen, 1587), the earliest extant songbook to contain the word *Hauskirche* in its title.⁵¹ According to the title-page, the book was intended for »Christian parents and their God-fearing children« (»Christliche Eltern und ihre Gottfürchtige Jugend«). Reinigke's songbook has a complicated printing history that requires further research to be fully understood. The 1587 exemplar was followed by an undated Bautzen edition, probably printed a few years later.⁵² Reinigke's texts were then published in editions in Görlitz in 1595 and in Wittenberg in 1599;⁵³ and also in another early hymnal that mentions the domestic space in its title, Bartholomaeus Gesius's »Christliche Haus and Tisch Musica« (Wittenberg, 1605).⁵⁴ Until now, Reinigke's book has been little studied, apart from a few brief comments by Robin Leaver and Judith Haug.⁵⁵ Yet it shows how music for the *Hauskirche* was intended not merely as a means of religious education (as with Herman's songs) but also as a way to regulate each believer's life with a cycle of daily prayer-songs.

Reinigke's book contains sung versions of prayers from Johann Habermann's »Christliche Gebete« (first published 1567). Habermann's book (often called the »Betbüchlein«) was the most popular Lutheran prayer-book of the late sixteenth century, appearing in at least 26 editions during his lifetime; it was widely regarded as a symbol of Lutheran orthodoxy.⁵⁶ The 1574 edition was dedicated to the eleven-year-old Dorothea of Saxony, and copies in Dresden were used by her and by subsequent

51 Paschasius REINIGKE, *Haus Kirchen Cantorei*, Bautzen 1587, RISM DKL 1587/08, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, shelfmark Wernigerode Hb 1412. Variant spellings of Reinigke's surname include Reinigius and Reinicke.

52 My study is based on this undated second edition, held at Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, shelfmark EH 3866. It differs from the 1587 edition in such respects as the use of different woodcuts and the addition of two hymns by Johann Agricola, *Patentiam mus ich han* and *O Vater aller frommen* (sig. f4r and f6v). RISM dates this second edition as DKL 1588/01, while the Berlin Staatsbibliothek catalogue gives a date of 1590. See also Philipp WACKERNAGEL, *Das deutsche Kirchenlied von der ältesten Zeit bis zu Anfang des XVII. Jahrhunderts*, Leipzig 1864, Bd. 1, nr. 274, S. 546.

53 *Die Christlichen Gebete Doctor Johann Habermans [...] Gesangßweiss*, Görlitz 1595 (a copy formerly held in Helmstedt is listed in WACKERNAGEL, *Das deutsche Kirchenlied von der ältesten Zeit*, Bd. 1, nr. 331, S. 583) and *Christlichen Gebete Herrn Doctor Johan Habermans [...] in vnterschiedliche Reimen Arth gemehret*, 2 Bd., Wittenberg 1599.

54 RISM DKL 1605/04.

55 Robin A. LEAVER, *Genevan Psalm Tunes in the Lutheran Chorale Tradition*; in: Eckhard GRUNEWALD/Henning P. JÜRGENS/Jan R. LUTH (Hgg.), *Der Genfer Psalter und seine Rezeption in Deutschland, der Schweiz und den Niederlanden: 16.–18. Jahrhundert*, Tübingen 2004, S. 145–166 (here S. 153, 162f); Judith A. HAUG, *Der Genfer Psalter in den Niederlanden, Deutschland, England und dem Osmanischen Reich (16.–18. Jahrhundert)*, Tutzing 2010, S. 217, 259.

56 Traugott KOCH, *Johann Habermans »Betbüchlein« im Zusammenhang seiner Theologie: eine Studie zur Gebetsliteratur und zur Theologie des Luthertums im 16. Jahrhundert*, Tübingen 2001, S. 149–157, 174.

generations of Saxon princesses;⁵⁷ it was also used by Ursula von Eickstedt, as mentioned above. Reinigke set the first part of Habermann's book, which contains 56 prayers, eight for each day of the week. For each day, Habermann provided prayers for specific times (morning, evening), prayers of petition (for instance, for forgiveness of sins or for one's daily bread), prayers of intercession (for instance, for preachers or for secular authority), prayers of thanksgiving, and prayers for protection against such threats as Satan's kingdom or the temptations of the flesh. Although intended for private use, Habermann's prayers do not refer to an individual's predicament or emotions; instead, they take the believer through a weekly cycle of set prayers as fixed and objective as liturgical collects.⁵⁸

Reinigke's versifications maintain the objective tone of Habermann's original prayers. His rhymed versions make limited use of the first-person voice and do not encourage believers to contemplate their inner spirituality. Like Habermann's originals, many of Reinigke's versified versions start with formulaic phrases of petition such as »Barmhertziger Gott« or »Allmechtiger Gott«. Reinforcing the similarity with liturgical prayers, Reinigke ended each song with a rhymed paraphrase of the Lord's Prayer. In the Bautzen editions, each prayer-song is introduced with a woodcut illustrating its subject: for instance, the song »Christe Gottes Sohn« (a prayer for protection against false doctrine and sects) is headed in the second edition with an illustration of three righteous believers absorbed in discussion, not noticing that thieves are ransacking an adjacent building.⁵⁹

Reinigke was clerk in Spremberg, a town in Lower Lusatia (approximately 80 km north-east of Dresden), and he dedicated almost all of his versified prayers to local individuals, such as the Lusatian nobleman Caspar von Nostitz or the Spremberg resident Ursula von Promnitz.⁶⁰ The dedicatee's name is embedded within the verse as an acrostic, personalising the text of the prayer-song. Yet Reinigke does not refer to the piety of these individuals; his intention instead may have been to present copies of the hymnbook to them, in the hope of receiving rewards.⁶¹ Indeed, Reinigke dedicated the book to Elisabeth of Anhalt-Zerbst (1563–1607), wife of the Elector of Brandenburg; his dedicatory verse, an acrostic on her name, speaks of his confidence that he would receive »ein Fürstlich gab«.⁶² (That acrostics in sacred song were often associated with dedicatory gifts is evident from the funerary lieder of Johann Hermann Schein (1586–1630); these use the name of the deceased as an acrostic, and were often presented as gifts to the grieving relatives.⁶³)

57 Julius RICHTER, *Das Erziehungswesen am Hofe der Wettiner Albertinische (Haupt-)Linie*, Berlin 1913, S. 53, 177.

58 Christopher Boyd BROWN, *Devotional Life in Hymns, Liturgy, Music and Prayer*; in: Robert KOLB (Hg.), *Lutheran Ecclesiastical Culture, 1550–1675*, Leiden 2008, S. 205–258 (here S. 248).

59 REINIGKE, *Haus Kirchen Cantorei*, sig. F8r.

60 REINIGKE, *Haus Kirchen Cantorei*, sig. D5r, E6v.

61 Reinhard ZÖLLNER, *Das deutsche Kirchenlied in der Oberlausitz*, Dresden 1871, S. 46.

62 REINIGKE, *Haus Kirchen Cantorei*, sig. B3v.

63 Stephen ROSE, *Schein's Occasional Music and the Social Order in 1620s Leipzig*; in: *Early Music History* 23, 2004, S. 253–284 (here S. 256, 271). For an overview of hymns that contain ac-

Reinigke's book has unusually extensive prefatory material explaining the purpose of his prayer-songs. The first preface is by Johann Habermann, giving his consent to the versification of his prayers. He then outlines a form of devotion in which each day focuses on a different part of the body: »I wanted to remind you that in each morning and evening prayer I commend a specific limb to the spirit and body of God.«⁶⁴ On Sunday, the heart, soul and spirit (*gemüth*) are dedicated to God; on Monday, the eyes; on Tuesday, the ears; on Wednesday, the tongue and lips; on Thursday, the hands and arms; on Friday, the feet; and on Saturday, all limbs together. Thus the believer's body – those same limbs that could so easily be tempted into unruly dancing – was regulated via the pious exercise of domestic devotional music.

The other prefatory verses emphasise the power of music within the *Hauskirche*, asserting that a sung prayer is more effective than a said one. The Bautzen preacher Johann Agricola (c.1530–1590) explained in his preface that the musical sound will not only affect the believer's heart but also make the prayer more persuasive to God:⁶⁵

Das dein hertz fur freuden wird springen/	For your heart will leap for joy
Wenn dus wirst lesen/Beten/Singen.	When you will read, pray and sing.
O wie gefelt dem lieben GOTT/	O how a sung prayer in need
Ein singendes Gebet in Noth.	Pleases dear God
In Gottes Ohrn ein Betgesang	In God's ear a prayer-song
Ist gar ein schön lieblicher klang[.]	Is indeed a beautiful sound.

Nor would Christ be able to ignore such musically persuasive intercessions:⁶⁶

Solchs alles euch erstattet süs	Lord Jesus will sweetly reward you
Der Herre Christ/so ihr mit klang	When you with sound
Aus diesem Buch thut ein Gesang.	Make a song from this book.
Bittet/Suchet/vnd Klopffet an/	Ask, search and knock
Jhesus euch nicht verlassen kan.	Jesus cannot forsake you.

All the believer had to do was to enforce regular singing in the *Hauskirche*:

Last nur in ewr Haußkirchelein	In your little house-church let there be
Täglich Singen die Kinderlein	Daily singing by the children
Aus diesem Buch die Liederlein/	Using the songs from this book
Morgents/Mittags vnd Abendts fein/	Morning, afternoon and evening

rostics, see Ada KADELBACH, Das Akrostichon im Kirchenlied. Typologie und Deutungsansätze; in: Jahrbuch für Liturgik und Hymnologie 36, 1997, S. 175–207.

64 »Eins wolte ich euch erinnern [...] das ich in einem Jglichen Morgen und Abendtsegen ein sonderlich Glied Secundum potentias animae & corporis GOTT thu befehlen.« REINIGKE, Haus Kirchen Cantorei, sig. A3v.

65 REINIGKE, Haus Kirchen Cantorei, sig. B7r.

66 REINIGKE, Haus Kirchen Cantorei, sig. B8r.

Wie es gar fein gestellt ist klar/
Auff all Tag in der wochen dar:

How it is finely set is clear
On all days of the week.

Finally, the prefatory material stresses that Reinigke's prayer-songs will strengthen Lutheran dogma and dispel evil. Such a claim reflects the reputation of Habermann's prayers as a bastion of Lutheran orthodoxy, and also Luther's belief that music could drive away the devil.⁶⁷ Thus the commendatory poem by Gregor Cruger states:⁶⁸

Ein recht Gbet ist ein starcke Mawr/
Wiedr welch der Teuffel sihet sawr.
Dieselb verwart ein Schön Gesang/
Dafür den Sathan wird sehr bang.
Dann wenn er merckt die lieblichkeit/
Meint er/man wacht wiedr Ihn allzeit.

A correct prayer is a strong wall
Against which the devil looks sour
The same kept in a beautiful song
Will make Satan very anxious.
For when he notes the loveliness
He will think you are watching out for him at
all times.

The devil could be a euphemism for immorality, social disorder or heretical beliefs. By singing Reinigke's versified prayers eight times a day throughout the week, believers would be protected from these temptations. The sweetness (*lieblichkeit*) of the melodies was an essential component of their anti-satanic power, allowing the prayer-songs to maintain their hold over members of the *Hauskirche*

Yet such an emphasis on social discipline was contradicted by Reinigke's choice of tunes. The second undated edition of »Haus Kirchen Cantorei« contains 65 notated tunes, which are described on the title-page as »lovely« and »well-known« (*liebliche bekandte Melodeyen*). Many of these tunes are established Lutheran chorales such as »Allein Gott in der Höh«, »An Wasserflüssen Babylon« and »O Lamm Gottes unschuldig«; a few come from Herman's collections or from secular sources. But controversially, over a fifth of the tunes are from the Genevan psalter (see Tafel 2). These Calvinist tunes had been popularised in Lutheran territories by Ambrosius Lobwasser's 1573 translation of the Genevan psalter, but were never sanctioned for church use in Saxony and its neighbouring territories. With the hardening of confessional boundaries in the 1580s, the singing of Genevan melodies or even the possession of Calvinist books became increasingly suspect in Lutheran lands. Visitations in Saxony checked that pastors did not possess or use Calvinist books.⁶⁹ In 1602 the Saxon court preacher Polycarp Leyser, writing in his preface to Cornelius Becker's versification of the psalter, attacked the German tendency to admire foreign things indiscriminately, and dismissed the Genevan tunes as »foreign, French, and sounding

67 On music as dispelling the devil, see LEAVER, *Luther's Liturgical Music*, S. 93.

68 REINIGKE, *Haus Kirchen Cantorei*, sig. C1r.

69 Heiko JADATZ, *Wittenberger Reformation im Leipziger Land: Dorfgemeinden im Spiegel der evangelischen Kirchenvisitationen des 16. Jahrhunderts*, Leipzig 2007, S. 129–130.

lovely to worldly ears«. ⁷⁰ Reinigke may have used the Genevan tunes precisely because of this sensual appeal created by their memorable melodic contours and incisive rhythms.

Tafel 2: Genevan psalms in Paschasius Reinigke, »Haus Kirchen Cantorei« (second edition, Bautzen, c.1590)

Genevan psalm	Reinigke text	Signature
7	O Herr Jesu Christ eine Krone	H2r
30 = 79 = 139	Allmechtiger Gott, Vater mein	E1r
37	Senfftmütiger Gott	J6r
42	O Gott Vater und Gott Sohne	C5r
42	Barmhertziger Herr und Gotte	H7v
66 = 98 = 118	Herre und Gott ich thu dich preisen	G7r
77 = 86	Ewiger Gott, Vater mein	J2v
78 = 90	Christe Gottes Sohn	F8r
89	Ewiger Gott barmhertziger	G3v
101	Warum toben ohn Ursach	K1r
101	Preis sey dir höchster unsterblicher Gotte	d7v
104	Allmechtiger Gott ein Vater des Lichts	H4v
130	Jesu du frommer Gotte	E3v
138	Gelobt sey Gott	K7v

Working in Lusatia in the 1580s, Reinigke probably encountered greater tolerance of Calvinist elements than in the neighbouring principality of Saxony. (Indeed, many of the »crypto-Calvinist« pastors expelled from Saxony in 1591 found refuge in Lusatia.)⁷¹ Despite this, Reinigke's book introduces the Genevan tunes with an element of subterfuge, describing each one as a »Niederlendische Melodey«. Possibly Reinigke used the term »Niederlendische« because he was aware that the Genevan tunes circulated in the United Provinces in such psalters as those by Lucas De Heere (Ghent, 1565) and Jan Utenhove (London, 1566).⁷² However, it would seem more plausible that Reinigke obtained the melodies from one of the editions of Lobwasser's

70 »frembde, Frantzösische vnnd für den Weltlüsternden Ohren lieblich klingende Melodeyen«. Polycarp Leyser's preface to Cornelius BECKER, *Der Psalter Davids Gesangweis*, Leipzig 1602. Quoted from Leipzig 1619 edition, sig. B2r.

71 Andrew WEEKS, *Boehme: An Intellectual Biography of the Seventeenth-Century Philosopher and Mystic*, Albany 1991, S. 25.

72 Jan R. LUTH, *Gemeindegesang in der Nederlanden im 16. Jahrhundert*; in: GRUNEWALD/JÜRGENS/LUTH (Hgg.), *Der Genfer Psalter*, S. 421–434; Johan MEIJER, *De Heere, Datheen and Marnix: Three Dutch Versifiers of the Genevan Psalter*; in: GRUNEWALD/JÜRGENS/LUTH (Hgg.), *Der Genfer Psalter*, S. 435–446.

psalter that were printed in Leipzig.⁷³ Editions of Lobwasser's Psalter usually described the Genevan tunes as »French melodies«,⁷⁴ so it is possible that Reinigke chose the term »Niederländische« to disguise the Calvinist origins of the tunes. While setting the archetypal Lutheran prayerbook to music, Reinigke was also smuggling in subversive tunes. To give his prayer-songs the affective power necessary for them to regulate daily life, he had to use tunes that were otherwise forbidden in Lutheran lands.

CONCLUSION

As the confessional identity of Lutheranism hardened in the second half of the sixteenth century, the church and state made increasing efforts to control corporate and individual behaviour. Exemplifying this trend was the 1580 church ordinance issued in Saxony, with its detailed stipulations covering many aspects of public life ranging from church services and the conduct of church officials to the content of school curricula and how parents should inculcate their children with the catechism.⁷⁵ The implementation of these ordinances was upheld by the visitations that monitored church worship, school life and public morality in parishes. Meanwhile, a patriarchal order in family and household life was encouraged by the many printed manuals promoting domestic devotion. Music was an important part of this private worship: songs were used by Nikolaus Herman to teach Biblical stories to children, and by Paschasius Reinigke to regulate individuals' lives via a cycle of daily prayer-songs. Yet the church and state could not control every aspect of private behaviour. In the case of music, whereas the 1580 Saxon ordinance instructed that church worship should avoid pieces that were based on dances or bawdy songs,⁷⁶ there were no such restrictions on music in the *Hauskirche*. Thus Herman adapted the *Abendreihen* despite its immoral reputation, and Reinigke used the Calvinist tunes that were prohibited in church. The *Hauskirche* was intended as a tool of social and moral discipline, ruled over by the father in his divinely ordained roles as the household's »bishop, pope, doctor, parson,

73 A connection with Lobwasser is implied by Johannes Zahn, who claims that Reinigke's collection uses the Genevan tune of Psalm 140 with Lobwasser's words (Errett mich, o mein lieber Herr). Johannes ZAHN, *Die Melodien der deutschen evangelischen Kirchenlieder: aus den Quellen geschöpft und mitgeteilt*, Gütersloh 1889–93, nr. 750. This claim is repeated in LEAVER, *Genevan Psalm Tunes*, S. 153, 163. However, the Berlin copies of the 1587 edition and the undated second edition of *Haus Kirchen Cantorei* use neither this Genevan melody nor Lobwasser's words for Psalm 140.

74 »Frantzösischer Melodey«, as on the 1574 Heidelberg edition of Lobwasser's Psalter, RISM DKL 1574/03.

75 Helmar JUNGHANS, *Die kursächsische Kirchen- und Schulordnung von 1580. Instrument der »lutherischen« Konfessionalisierung?*; in: Helmar JUNGHANS (Hg.), *Die sächsischen Kurfürsten während des Religionsfriedens von 1555 bis 1618. Symposium anlässlich des Abschlusses der Edition »Politische Korrespondenz des Herzogs und Kurfürsten Moritz von Sachsen«*, 15. bis 18. September 2005 in Leipzig, Leipzig 2007, S. 209–238.

76 Reinhold VORMBAUM, *Die evangelischen Schulordnungen des 16. Jahrhunderts*, Gütersloh 1860, Bd. 1, S. 256.

preacher«; but in practice it was also a space where individual subjectivity and musical experimentation flourished.

ABBREVIATIONS USED

- WA: D. Martin Luthers Werke: kritische Gesamtausgabe, Weimar 1883–2009.
- RISM DKL: Das deutsche Kirchenlied: Verzeichnis der Drucke (Répertoire international des sources musicales, B/VIII, Bd. 1–2), Kassel 1975–80.